1: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

624 as the seat of authority that is the true center of administration. The tour through his territory seems to recall the older nomad society in its reassertion of personal control over the subjects, securing the cohesion of the clan and binding the subjects to the territory. The procedure may be compared with that of the Mongols, among whom every three years the register of the population is brought up to date and a large meeting of the Banner is held.[53] Among the Manchus, the general meeting of the clan is usually held once a year and never less frequently than once in three years.[54] Among the Monguors, it is to be noted that the T'u-ssu, in addition to his triennial tour, presides once a year over the meeting of the whole clan on the day of the veneration of the ancestors.

THE T'U-SSU LORD OF THE NOBLES

173 At the seat of the T'u-ssu is kept the register of all the noble families and their members. Even the girls are 618 noted and the families into which they marry. The difference between this register and the book of genealogies of the nobles lies in the fact that in the book of genealogies the birth of children, whether boys or girls, is not noted. A noble is entered in the book of genealogies as of the day of his death, on which date are noted the day of his birth and the name of his wife. The names of unmarried sons are not inscribed because they have not produced sons for the clan; the names of girls are omitted because they are "outsiders," taking the name of a different clan as soon as they are married. The register of the noble families is more elaborate, because each member of the family, boys and girls alike, is assessed a levy of 50 coins for the upkeep of the ancestral temple.

THE TRIENNAL VISIT

624 At the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu among the nobles, the register is brought up to date. Because the nobles •574 live scattered in the villages among the commoners and the members of the same House do not necessarily live in the same village, the visit of the T'u-ssu is so ordered that he visits the Houses one after another on fixed days. All members of a House must gather at the home of some one member. They are expected to invite the T'u-ssu and to send horses for his retinue. The picture of the guardian deity of the clan accompanies the T'u-ssu, and a reception is held during which the members of the generation senior to the T'u-ssu bow to him, while members of junior generations prostrate themselves. The hosts must provide a dinner at which the T'u-ssu presides as chief over all his noble kinsmen. Topics of [431] interest to the nobles are discussed, and though they offer him no money, they present him with a piece of cloth.

[53] E. Timkovskii, *Voyage en Chine par la Mongolie en 1820 et 1821*, 1, 113, 321, Paris, 1827.

[54] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit*, 51.

[P. 66-b]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

624 cloth. On the third day he is invited by the members
•574 of the next House.

NOBLES EXEMPTED FROM TAXES, CORVÉES, MILITARY SERVICE

565 There are important differences between commoners
651 and nobles in respect to taxes, military duty, and obligatory services. The way in which the nobles as kinsmen by blood of the T'u-ssu are divided into Houses according to seniority of descent from the founding ancestor, and are allocated for their personal revenue the tax income from certain villages, has already been described. The logical counterpart of the fact that the taxes of commoners can be allocated to nobles is the immunity of the nobles themselves from all taxes, obligatory services, and special contributions to the investiture of a T'u-ssu or the expenses of marriages and funerals in his mansion. The T'u-ssu and his noble kinsmen, as members of the same "bone," are thus clearly set apart as the collective "owners" of the commoners who form the larger, "assimilated" clan. Following the same general principle, when commoners bring new fields under cultivation they must pay to the T'u-ssu both a capital price for the acquisition of the land and a tax for the registration of the land as their private property, while nobles may bring new land under cultivation without any payment of any kind, thus demonstrating that they, collectively with the T'u-ssu, are the owners of the territory.

565 Nobles are, however, by the same logic, subject to
651 contributions for the upkeep of the ancestral temple in the mansion of the T'u-ssu. All nobles of the clan, and
769 even their wives and children, are assessed a levy of 50 copper coins every year for the expenses of the lama chaplain and the cost of oil, paper, and incense. The Monguors say that in former times the nobles were also responsible for the upkeep of the old common cemetery, and that they only later built private cemeteries, but that at present they pass on to the commoners the cost of the upkeep of these cemeteries.

565 The custom in regard to corvées is parallel to that
651 regulating the payment of taxes. Though nobles may inherit the right to collect taxes from certain villages, they do not have the right to demand obligatory services; but conversely they themselves are not subject to such services. Because of this, nobles must either till their own fields and watch their own cattle, or hire people to do this work for them. If the village in which they live decides to dig an irrigation canal as a communal project, they do not have to contribute labor but must
565 pay their share of the expenses. The only extraordinary
574 expenses and services that can be demanded of the nobles come under the head of honorable obligations, such as taking part in the entertainment of guests during festivities, contributions to dinners, participation in the veneration of the ancestors and in clan meetings, and serving as representatives of the T'u-ssu at dinners given

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

by Chinese officials, or on journeys to congratulate Chinese officials on the major feast days of the year. The nobles as a group are also exempted from military service, although the chiefs of the militia of the commoners, according to tradition, were always chosen from among the nobles in former times. In later times both nobles and commoners have served as commanders and officers.[55]

It is said by the Monguors that in times past it was usually a noble who served as the chief of a village, but that because at present there are very few capable men among the nobles, these duties have devolved on commoners. Similarly, the nobles have lost the monopoly of serving as military officers.

AUTHORITY OF T'U-SSU OVER NOBLES

As might be expected the relations between a T'u-ssu and his nobles are of a special kind. It has already been described how, on occasions of special ceremony, a T'u-ssu may actually be expected to prostrate himself before nobles who are members of a generation senior to his own, while they do not have to prostrate themselves to him, but merely clasp their hands and bow their heads. Moreover, while the T'u-ssu takes precedence when he is presiding as chief of the clan at the veneration of the ancestors, at clan meetings, during the triennial visitation, or when nobles or commoners are brought before him in a lawsuit, yet on such occasions as non-official dinners and the marriages of nobles, the T'u-ssu always requests a noble of a generation senior to his own to preside.

Difficulties among the nobles most commonly originate either in quarrels over the division of a paternal inheritance or quarrels about the collection of taxes. In order to prevent litigation, the clan elders try to arbitrate such quarrels. Only if they are unsuccessful is a lawsuit brought before the T'u-ssu. If the parties do not agree to the T'u-ssu's verdict, they are free to appeal to a Chinese court. In a case known to me, the eleventh House of the clan of Li T'u-ssu had trouble with its villages over the collection of taxes. Unwilling to abide by the verdict of the T'u-ssu, the members of the House went to the Chinese court. They were severely rebuked, the Chinese judge angrily threatening to abolish the outmoded custom under which the members of a whole clan live at the expense of the commoners.

Nobles are never flogged or beaten for transgression of the law, because the lictors are commoners and it is not fitting that commoners should beat nobles.

When the T'u-ssu visits his nobles in the course of his triennial tour, they defray his expenses, including those of his retinue, just as do the commoners.

The old nomad custom was that when an individual

[55] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 233, notes that among the Mongols of the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, with the decay of the feudal system, the duty of feudal service on the part of a noble to his lord had become more voluntary than obligatory.

[p. 67-b]

/51 cont'd/
585 all until the next day, which is the day of the wedding dinner at the home of the son-in-law; we have seen that the number of guests invited to this dinner is prescribed. He will therefore have to politely send some away. To this end he comes to each person who will be sent away, without saying any more, bringing four loaves of bread and one or two pieces of raw meat. This is called pou fen tse, "to 583 431 complete the dinner." They understand and leave with many polite phrases.

585 574 /52/ The ones chosen for the feast the next day try to find lodging for the night, either with neighbors or in the home of the bride; some of them celebrate very late into the night and pass the time singing and drinking. This part of the festivity is often less attractive for us, since the gin spoils its freshness. It has the disadvantage of sending to the wedding dinner the next day at the son-in-law's home many guests with heavy heads and in bad humor because of fatigue from a tiring trip and a night without refreshing sleep.

533 585 The T'ou-jen like to sing at weddings. Their own repertory in the language of the country is not very wide, so they ordinarily sing Tibetan songs. One of the very rare songs in the Monguor [177] language is the one about the origin of the mythical bird Chong-nirwa. (1) It is very often sung at weddings.

104 773

1. Chong is probably the Buddhist Garuda called K'yun in Tibetan. Grunwedel says in Mythologie des Buddhismus in Thibet u. der Mongolei /Mythology of Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia/, p. 25: semidivine being, deadly enemy of the Naga, a mounted bird, the king of the feathered /tribe/ and his kinsmen.... P. 191, ... is always represented in Lamaism with a thick body, human arms, on which the wings are located, and the horned head of a bird. He is part of the company of the formidable gods and plays

/81 cont'd/

Ma 585

The following night the proof of virginity is required. /Cited in English, with French interpolations indicated by parentheses./

Mo 585

/81/ maid of honor comes to arrange the hair-do of the young wife in the manner of the women of the place.

20. Visits after the Wedding

Mo 574 585 Mo [862]

The third day after the wedding, the father and mother of the young wife come to make a visit to the newly related family. This visit is called "opening a new road," tying new relationships. They bring a jug of gin, loaves of bread, dry Chinese noodles, and come, they say, to invite the son-in-law to come to their home. It is customary that on this day the young wife prepares the dinner. They make her take a practical examination of her culinary knowledge. It is she also who serves the last dish of the dinner and clears the table. The guests praise her and throw several cash for her into the empty cups. In the evening the guests go home.

The next day the father-in-law, the son-in-law, and the young wife go, the three of them, to return the visit to the parents-in-law. They bring two jugs of gin and loaves of bread. The married couple make the great prostration to the members of the family who are of generations above their own. In the evening the father and the son-in-law go back home /82/ and leave the young wife with her parents for several days. After choosing an auspicious day, one of her brothers will take her back to her husband's home. (1)

HM 585 754

1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 312: A month later the young wife sets out with her husband or with one of her close relatives to pay a visit to her parents, which she repeats several months or a year later. (German translation: and stays with them for several months, indeed often for a year.)

/82 cont'd/

21. Relations of the Married Couple with the Daughter-in-law's Family.

593 585 a) Relations of the married daughter with her own family after the wedding.

The daughter-in-law is incorporated into the family of her [776 784] husband. We have seen that upon her arrival at the door of the house she was given chopsticks and a jug of gin, and that then she was taken to the kitchen to honor the god of the hearth of her new family by prostrating herself three times and presenting her offering of gin and her chopsticks.

Henceforth she will call the members of her husband's family by the same name that he calls them; in speaking of them to a third person she will add the term gadin, which means relatives by marriage.

Because the husband's family bought her, she has become its property; her original family no longer has any rights over her. One /83/ expects therefore that the relations of the married daughter with her own family would be broken, or at least that they would be very much reduced. Now this is not the case, as the long and frequent visits she continues to make to her parents after the wedding prove, as well as the custom of keeping her valuables and her clothes in her original family.

593 574 As a matter of fact, custom has it that the husband takes his wife and children to the home of their relatives in the first month of the year. His wife will stay with her family for ten or 20 days, often for even a month. When this period has gone by, her brother takes her back to her parents-in-law. Toward the fifth of the fifth moon the husband takes her to her family for the second time. This visit is shorter; after a few days her brother takes her back. About the fifteenth of the eighth moon the husband takes her to her parents' home for the third time. This time she stays there 15 or 20 days or even a month. The fourth visit to her family takes place in the last [527] month of the year and lasts about 20 days. Her brother brings her back for the festival of the god of the hearth, a festival which

593 /83 cont'd/
574 daughters-in-law cannot miss on any pretext. Each time the trip is
[527] made on horseback, and the husband comes back home the same day or the next.

When the two families live in places too distant from each other, for example, two days or more, the daughter-in-law makes only two visits a year to her parents. The first is made after the sowing, about the third moon, and lasts a month, the second after the threshing of the wheat, about the eleventh moon; it lasts a month and a half or even two months. The daughter-in-law will always be back for the festival of the god of the hearth.

[562] Women over forty can go to their own families whenever they like.

Outside of these customary visits there are cases of sickness in the family, mourning, marriage, celebration for a first-born child, etc., and each time the married daughter does not fail to be present.

/84/ This is the customary thing. However, in practice these visits depend on many circumstances. It may happen that the daughter-in-law's family is poor and does not want to entertain its daughter and her two or three small children. Then these visits will become shorter and less numerous. It may happen that the relations of the daughter-in-law with her family are less intimate, then of course they see one another less. When the parents of the married daughter are dead, the brothers and the sisters-in-law invite their sister less. Likewise when the married daughter has several children, she will not be able to take them all away with her, and she will not want to leave them for as long a time and so often. If the husband and wife get along well together and the daughter-in-law is well treated by the mother-in-law, her visits will naturally be reduced; but although reduced, they are always extraordinarily frequent.

In general, these visits are the cause of many troubles in the two families because they are too prolonged and too frequent. They give the young wife every chance for relations that are not praiseworthy at her place of origin, and these end up by chilling the relationship with her husband. During these visits the daughter often complains about her mother-in-law; then her parents, in order to

/84 cont'd/

593 make her life more bearable, make difficulties with the family of
574 the parents-in-law, and instead of doing good to their daughter they make her situation more and more difficult.

42.2 Besides these abnormal visits, it is necessary to point out a
58 custom completely singular in a patriarchal organization, with the system of the "large family," in which the daughter-in-law and all that belongs to her is the property of her husband and his family. This custom is that the young married woman keeps her jewels, her ornaments, her best clothes, and all that is dear to her not at the home of her husband but at her own mother's. There she has two or three trunks which her parents take care of but whose keys she keeps. On festive occasions the married woman herself goes to her parents' home to get her best clothes, or she sends someone to get them. Yet at her husband's home /85/ she also has one or two trunks in which she keeps her less important things and those of her children. This general custom offends neither the husband nor his family; all the same it may be the occasion of many disagreeable consequences. Indeed, it is thanks to this "strongbox" that dishonest women find a place to conceal things unfairly acquired in the family of the parents-in-law; again it is there that the presents offered by a too assiduous lover repose, etc. The T'ou-jen all recognize that this custom is not ideal, but they are powerless to make it disappear. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, p. 61: The adoption of a woman by the new clan is symbolised by a prayer addressed to the spirits of her husband's clan and a visit to the tomb of her husband's ancestors. Besides, in the course of the marriage ceremony she must execute some other rites symbolising her adoption by her husband's clan.

Among the northern Tungus the woman, after she is married, is not so closely bound at her husband's clan, and she is always considered as belonging to her mother's clan.

/129 cont'd/

562 588 593 peak, and when she has a son, then the brothers of the deceased will not have the right to demand his property for themselves. In addition, these same brothers who would not permit their brother to bequeath his property to his daughter and a son-in-law not adopted into the clan recognize the right of inheritance of a niece married to a prayer pole and of her children.

As long as the girl-mother stays home with her children, it is rare that difficulties arise; but often the situation changes when the woman is married at a "second" wedding /130/ and her children are still young. Then the woman's uncles, if she has no brothers, or these brothers if she has any, try to make her take her children with her and have them adopted by the new husband. They want to secure the property of the brother for themselves; for the property of the clan cannot pass to another clan. If the sons of the girl-mother are married at the time when she marries for the second time, there is no longer anything to fear for their rights. Let us note again that for these women, when they later remarry someone of their choice, there is no festivity as at the marriage of girls; they are satisfied with inviting a few neighbors. The second marriage can, in a way, be compared to a widow's marriage; however, such a woman will never have to fear being abducted.

The present case then is very strange in a society which, today, has strictly paternal descent. The fact that these rights are universally recognized is a sign that they date from far back; also the T'ou-jen cannot explain their origin and simply admit the fact.

B. Marriages to a Belt

588 184 574 837 These marriages, although they are as abnormal as those of the preceding series, nevertheless seem to constitute a separate series. First, they are practiced less than those we have just described, and then their origin does not seem to be the same. They find their explanation in the custom of offering, for the night, a girl or a woman to a passing guest; in short, it is prostitution for the sake of hospitality. (1)

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1. Dr. Herbert König, op. cit., p. 140: Guest Prostitution. Guest prostitution, which is found among the polar peoples, also belongs in the same category. It is the custom of giving guests not only accommodations and lodgings, but in addition putting the wife or daughter at their disposal for sexual relations. It is very widespread among the polar peoples, although it is not characteristic. I have found no report of it among the central North Asiatics, with the exception of the Tungus. /Cited in German./

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This kind of marriage is practiced more where there is /131/ no son, but only a nubile daughter who has not yet been given in marriage. These are therefore very rare cases. This custom is again a way for the parents to keep their daughter with them; the daughter can in this way know the advantages of motherhood while taking care of her parents; the latter on their part will not have to be exposed to the risks inherent in the practice of husband-sons-in-law. This is the explanation given by the T'ou-jen.

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When the father offers his daughter to some passing guest, the latter must give his belt in exchange and leave it with the girl. The importance attached to the belt has never been explained. We have met the belt twice before in the marriage of widows. The guest goes away in the morning and will perhaps never come back; but if the girl is found pregnant, they make her new clothes as well as a married woman's hat; they comb her hair in the bride's style, they invite several neighbors, they put the belt on red felt spread out on the ground. The girl kneels and makes the great prostration to the belt, to her parents, and to those present, saying that she is the wife of the guest. Later, she will give her child the name of the guest and will herself be called by the same name by all the neighbors, although perhaps she will never see this passing traveler again. The

588 /131 cont'd/
574 children born later will continue to be always given the name of the
[858] guest. It goes without saying that the latter does not bother in any way with the support of either the child or the woman.

[428] Important remark: No right of inheritance is recognized for these children in the family of their mother. They are considered as the children of a daughter married to some individual, for they bear another name; now, another name, another family.

588 This curious custom finds its place in the series of marriages
554 because it creates a legal position in favor of the mother identical in every way to that of any married woman. The woman married to a belt is considered the wife of husband X and no one will ever venture to abduct her.

588 /132/ Marriages to a belt and those to prayer poles resemble each other strongly; the manner of celebrating them is the same; women who have contracted these marriages are considered as duly married, and the children, in the two groups, are recognized as legitimate. The only difference between the two groups of marriages lies in the fact that those of the prayer-pole group are recognized by the mother's clan, and those of the other are considered as not belonging to this clan. Those of the prayer-pole group seem to be direct vestiges of one of the stages of the matriarchate; indeed, they bring about inheritance in the family by the daughter. Those of the second group, on the contrary, by the fact that the woman and the children are considered as having left the clan, do not seem to have this origin; but if the prayer-pole marriages had not existed formerly, those of the belt group would never have been practiced.

588 The following item throws a singular light on this category of
593 marriages. A certain Tchang-kia-pa of Hong-ngai-tse-keou had a daughter married to a belt, mother of a small child; in addition, he had a married son at home. As a consequence of continual friction between the daughter married to the belt and the daughter-in-law, the first sought a match, married, and left the paternal home, taking away her son. Thus a certain Hou Iu-leang bought her as his second wife for the sum of 200 strings of cash.

After five or six years, at the time of the great fair and festivities of Wei iuen-p'ou which take place in the second moon, a

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606 ahead of all the other members of the family. What is typical is that
587 they call the money given to the mother-in-law k'ai k'eou ts'ien,
593 "the sum which opens her mouth," for if she does not open her mouth, that is to say, if she does not consent, the marriage comes to nought. /156/

b) Succession on the maternal side.

562 Without admitting a former matriarchate, how can one explain
593 the situation of the women in the series of marriages to the prayer
88 pole, etc.? In this case the "girl-mother" is seen to enjoy all the rights of a married woman, her children bear her name and inherit in her clan beside the children of her brothers. This is certainly the case which makes kinship, order of succession, and the property of the family pass on the mother's side. This single case which continues to exist in the middle of a patriarchal period in which the children of daughters as well as their mother are considered as outside the family, deserves all attention.

c) Admission into the family of children born of outsider fathers.

343 Is it not permitted to see vestiges of the matriarchate in the great facility with which they admit into the family the children of daughters-in-law and widows, born certainly of fathers who are outsiders; partus sequitur ventrem /"offspring proceed from the womb"/: they recognize only the mother. We have seen that here they are in a period of transition which begins to make this practice more and more difficult.

562 d) Frequent family visits of the daughter-in-law and right to
421 keep her property at her mother's home.
593 Again what can be said of the abnormal custom which allows
574 the daughter-in-law these frequent visits and these long vacations with her family? This custom is not natural in a patriarchal organization where the daughter-in-law is the property of her husband, and where she must give this clan her life, her time, and all her work. This custom gives the impression that the daughter, after marriage, always continues to live with her own family and not that of her husband, (1) all the more /157/ because she keeps at her parents' home

/157 cont'd/

Ma 574 593

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 90-91: The second long visit of the newly married wife in her mother's house may be also understood as a survival of the customs that prescribed to the newly married wife to keep her place in her mother's house. Furthermore the Manchus never say "the wife's father's clan" but "the wife's mother's clan." At the same time they say " he husband's clan" and "the husband's father's clan." Thus all these facts cannot be explained without a supposition of the materline clan system in the past. /Cited in English./

Mo 562 421 593 574 her finest clothes, her ornaments, her jewels, and everything that is dear to her. One keeps one's treasures at one's home; now, the home of the daughter-in-law does not seem to be near her husband. This last custom, which still effectively recognizes that the wife today has certain property rights, does not belong to a patriarchal organization; furthermore, we saw in the speech of the master of ceremonies that formerly the daughter enjoyed property rights since in her own family she inherited half of a son's share.

e) Festivities at the birth of daughters.

Mo 527 844 We shall describe elsewhere the extraordinary noisy festivities in which the whole village takes part, given on the occasion of the birth of the first child of a daughter-in-law, whether this child be a son or daughter, the celebration is equally solemn. Now such a festivity upon the birth of a daughter is again absolutely abnormal in a patriarchal system, where only the male descendant counts. We must note that already in many T'ou-jen families this festivity is celebrated only upon the birth of the first son. This celebration is absolutely inconceivable to a Chinese mind.

Mo [171]

f) Wedding dinner at the bride's home.

Mo 585 562 In a patriarchal system how does one justify the dinner given at the bride's home for the members of her family alone on the eve of

[35 cont.]

792 A distinction is made between great and small lamas. The great ones are usually Living Buddhas (hutukhtu) (1).

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1. [Foreign text p. 41.] The following presentation applies primarily to the reception of a hutukhtu. In case of lesser lamas the ceremonies are simpler. -- Divine images, for instance, the litter of the Kuan Yin, of the tiger god, etc., also receive a similar reception when they are brought into the house for exorcising evil. Unfortunately I was unable to take down the corresponding ceremonies. I once saw such a god's litter standing on a house roof. -- The lama-reception was observed by me personally.

Before one invites a lama, the house must be cleaned. A special room is prepared, in which the lama prays and sleeps. Then the people go to get him with horses. In the case of a great lama, the entire village participates in the reception. As soon as he enters the compound, incense is offered and the conch is blown. He is led into the house and given hospitality. Afterwards he gives the book-blessing in the yard and begins his ceremonies.

[36] [Fig. 3 appears here.]

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[978] The lama always makes a number of tormas, in front of which little water-bowls are offered. He also has with him the same objects that he has in the monastery. -- When he finishes the ceremonies he is paid. Usually the monks of the monastery are also fed at that time.

Details

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574 Preparations: Before anyone invites a lama, he consults with him about the time. The soothsayer sets the day for the ceremonies accordingly. For instance, if according to the

[36 cont.]

Fig. 3

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a. Torma; b. torma; c. wumba-can of the lama; d. thunderbolt (dordzi); e. bell. (Drawing by a Tujen.)

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soothsaying the setting up of a mani-tree is supposed to take place on the fifteenth day of a given month, then the lama must come a week in advance because a prayer service of several days always precedes it. Only the higher lamas stay for just a day. The preparations are always carried out by the master of the household with the assistance of the mother's brother.

On the day before, the yard and all the rooms of the house are swept clean. The men fumigate all the rooms with the red-hot stone and the incense fire, so that no demons will carry on their mischief. For the lama, the host reserves the best room in the main house, which immediately adjoins the chapel or the household altar. He spreads one or two layers of white or red felt mats on the kang and places two beautiful saddle-blankets over them, one for the lama and one for his assistant. The place on which the lama is to sit is indicated by a hada. The latter is regarded as an honored memento and is later hung by the household altar.

Between the two blankets there is a fire basin with a large teakettle. Behind it there is a kang table with the food: a round wooden bowl of tsamba on which several pieces of buttered

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792 bread have been placed in a pyramid and crowned with a red
796 date; a little box with tschürra (dry curds) for kneading tsamba;
574 a number of small [37] plates with black and white sugar, candy
[262] sugar, currants, and dates; a number of small plates of goods baked with sugar and oil. -- Later, when the lama performs his ceremonies, the things are cleared away so that an empty table is at his disposal.

Hutukhtus or higher lamas send ordinary, serving lamas to the people a few days in advance to prepare the room and the things needed for the ceremonies. They also help in the kitchen because they know best which dishes their hutukhtu prefers. They
[442] also see to it that the riding animals of the monastery are properly accommodated.

The fetching of the lama: On the stipulated day the young men and boys of the village set out for the lamic monastery with the most beautiful and fastest horses. Some of them ride all the way to the monastery itself; some wait halfway. The hutukhtu
[492] always rides on his own animal; it must be a white horse. The other lamas, on the other hand, may use any animals available.

When at the halfway point the lama meets the troop that has come to fetch him, the oldest man steps forward and hands the lama a hada. He accepts it and touches the kneeling man's forehead. Then the youngest with the fastest horses leap into the saddle and ride ahead at a wild gallop in order to announce the news of the lama's arrival in the village. The lama likewise tries to follow at a rapid pace. Only the old lamas take their time. This fetching is called single fetching. Sometimes the fetching is done in two or three stages; then it is called double or triple fetching. Each time the ceremonies of handing over the hada and of the blessing are repeated. In the case of the third troup, however, the fetchers are on foot, for they only go just outside the village.

Reception: As soon as the messengers come riding in, the entire village gathers in front of the house that has invited the lama. All are wearing their best clothes. On the threshing

[37 cont.] On the threshing
792 floor the women and children tirelessly perform their round
796 dances with song, so that one can hear them from afar; the
lama is supposed to see how joyfully they welcome him. Out-
574 side the village all get off their horses; only the lama rides on
[535] alone. A man leads his horse by the reins.

As soon as he comes to the gate of the yard, a kang table is placed on the left side of the horse, and a white mat is put over it. The men help the lama out of the saddle, and all kowtow; only the women go on dancing without interruption. The lama steps out of the stirrups onto the table that has been set there and then strides toward the gate, where the master of the household is kneeling. He has placed a hada over his raised hands, and with it he extends to the lama a white bowl of milk with a cypress twig. The lama dips the twig into the milk, sprinkles the gate posts with it, and enters. The incense offering rises in the yard; people blow on all the conches they have. The men draw the lama forward with burning [38] sticks of incense and escort him to his room. There he sits down on the place indicated by the hada. The hada, however, is taken away.

792 The blessing: First of all, the lama rests with his com-
796 panions. The master of ceremonies pours him some tea and
invites him to fortify himself. Then the lama recites certain
574 prayers. Meanwhile the yard fills with guests.
788 At this point the master of the household enters the guest room, hands the lama a hada, kowtows, and requests him to come out in order to bless the people. The lama gives him a few small gifts, which he has brought with him, with a hada. Then he rises and goes out. Outside there is an armchair with a cushion; the lama sits down on it, his back turned toward the main house; a white felt mat is spread in front of him.
[554] Now the people move past him according to rank, first the men, then the women. Each person bows low before him while he touches the forehead or the crown of the head of everyone with his prayer book. His assistant stands at his side. After this ceremony he again withdraws into the house. [Figs. 4 and 5 appear here.]

[38 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 41 cont.]
torma that at the conclusion of the tsam dance on New Year's is carried off and burned as the murdered enemy of the religion. -- They also call the mandala-figure torma, for instance, during the erection of the pole-goat. -- The fact that the torma has a sacral function for only a brief time explains why it is no longer given any attention after the ceremonies, but is thrown away, given to the animals to eat, or even eaten by the people themselves.

Insofar as I was able to establish among the Tujen, the tormas are always made only of tsamba and butter, and not, as Filchner (Unkrig) writes, loc. cit., out of sour dough. It may be that this kind of preparation is peculiar to the monasteries.

The cult implements of the hutukhtu are the same as those he uses at home in the monastery, to wit, the holy water-can with the peacock feather, the hourglass drum, the thunderbolt, and the hand bell. He always has these things ready at hand on the table. He always holds his mani-string in his hand. While praying he does not sit at the side, but behind the table, on the kang and facing the door. He lays his prayer book in front of him on his knees or on the kang table. Sometimes he also gives the [788] water blessing while the others prepare the tormas. For this purpose he has pure spring water poured into the [39] holy can; one of the assistants throws consecrated spices into it and places the can on a little plate with Tibet barley. The lama then recites the prayer of blessing over it.

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Prayer fee: During the time of his stay the lama is entertained very hospitably. The master of the household, who is also called "master of gifts," must serve him personally. The

[39 cont.]

792 796 465 [574] [595] lama, however, does not have his principal meal at noon, like the other guests, but only in the late afternoon. In order to entertain him men and women dance and sing in the yard. Only in the case of very high hutukhtus is there no dancing.

On the last day, after the lama's morning meal, but while he is still drinking tea on the kang, the master of gifts appears with the ceremonial helpers and with many words expresses his gratitude for the visit and the prayer. Then he hands him a tray with the gifts, over which a hada is spread, and the master of gifts announces what the lama is receiving for his services. This hada over the tray is called "speech hada." The things are put in front of the lama on the table and kowtows are made three times. The assistants, too, receive appropriate gifts.

The fee varies according to the wealth of the master of gifts, the position of the lama, and the ceremonies performed. Usually it consists of several back-baskets of bread (5), some

5. [Foreign text p. 42.] A back-basket holds 24 loaves. The red cloth is for the lama's clothing. Why only grain and money are thought of as a unity and designated by the same name, mbō, is unclear to me. According to the DMF, it comes from the Tibetan p'ogs, "fee."

pieces of mutton (4), silver money, and red cloth. Wealthy

[262] [782] 4. [Foreign text p. 42.] Although Buddhism prohibits killing, the lamas, as well as the hutukhtus, eat flesh in all forms, as I repeatedly was able to observe. In the monastery Kuo-mang-szu I once noted that a sacrificial sheep, skinned and eviscerated, was set on a sacrificial table in front of the temple door. During

[39 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] the subsequent prayer ceremonies, the master of gifts, who had sacrificed this sheep, had the flesh cooked and a piece served to each of the monks in the temple during a pause in the prayer. It is therefore not surprising that the lama receives a loin of mutton for his fee. Since the Tujen, however, do not sacrifice a sheep in the presence of a lama (cf. the chapter, "The Mani-tree"), it seems to be a matter of not performing the killing itself before the eyes of the lama or in the same yard.

people give much more, for instance, beautiful horses, ornamental pendants, cloth, etc. When it is a matter of great [782] occasions, a prayer service is even ordered for the monastery during the time that the lama stays with the master of gifts. During these days the master of gifts provides all the monks with rice, sugar, butter, and tea. Even pilgrims who stay in [788] the monastery during these days and "stop in" to honor and to pray for the master of gifts are provided for and also receive alms for the journey.

[782] The masters of gifts also usually donate the prayer tea [272] for the entire monastery, which is drunk during the ceremonial [354] in the prayer hall, for example, at funerals, etc. Often they also set up a great number of butter-lamps in the temple at this time, or at least they donate the butter for the lamps. [Fig. 6 appears here.]

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Return: After the lama has received his gifts, he is ceremonially escorted out of the gate of the yard. An incense offering is again presented, but otherwise no further ceremonies take place. The white horse is brought up, a kang table with a felt mat is set up for mounting, and the lama is lifted into the saddle. Then the men escort him out of the village. There

[39 cont.]

792 is no actual escort in a procession with horses as at the reception. 796 The lama rides back alone with his monks. Only the gifts are brought after him on animals. 574

[40] The hutukhtus are always received in this festive manner. Lesser lamas, for instance, those who come just to pray at an obo, are accorded a simple reception. A similar procedure is followed for the Bon priests, shamans, and soothsayers. [465] They are not fetched ceremonially, and they are given only a moderate fee.

351 796 784 Taboo of the compound: At many prayer ceremonies of the lama, the compound is forbidden to strangers. This is called "to forbid the door." Whoever is not present at the beginning [609] of the performance may not enter the yard. On the other hand, people who were in the yard from the beginning [792] may later come and go freely (7). In order to mark the yard as [211] [177]

7. [Foreign text p. 42.] According to other statements, this applies only to the occupants of the house. Guests who go away may not return.

prohibited (taboo), the master of the household attaches a cypress or fir twig or a sieve to the gate of the yard (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 42.] The informant

[534]

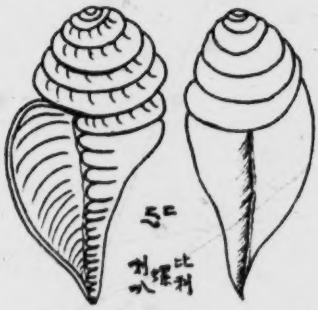

Fig. 6. Shells.

[532]

(Drawing of a Tujen.)

351 [40 cont.]
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[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] maintains that formerly the Tujen used no sieve and that they learned of it from the Chinese. Nowadays paper is commonly used when it is a matter of a taboo that is not connected with the prayer service. Thus the people stick a rectangular piece of red paper to the gate intrados, on the right when, for example, there is sickness in the compound, and on the left when a woman is in confinement there. White paper is used when someone has died, a custom that probably comes from the Chinese.

[574] [792] The taboo always lasts for several days, three, five, seven, always an odd number, and always as long as the lama is staying at the house, as well as two days afterwards. If, for example, the lama is there only one day, the taboo lasts three days; if he is there three days, it lasts five days, etc. If he is in the house for seven days, however, the taboo lasts for an entire week after his departure (9).

9. [Foreign text pp. 42-43.] The taboo regulations mentioned here also apply to other religious ceremonies, even when no lama or Bon priest is invited. The taboo is then in force for only three days, however. -- Even the best friends are not admitted into the house, but are dealt with by the gate of the yard. For this reason they must first call out loudly so that someone will come out.

[751] [43] Sometimes the people also say that in case of illness the yard is marked not out of fear of the spirits, but

[40 cont.]

192 Lama-reception: lama ndziala.

792 Lama blessing: ndziärgän (Tib.) = in rows.

796 First fetching: ġdzō dañwu (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note on preceding page].

574 Second fetching: ġdzō niwa (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Third fetching: ġdzō ġdzāmba (Tib. loanword) 10 [see Note 10 on preceding page].

192 262 Tsamba bowl with buttered slices: simier (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

796 Little plate with baked goods: sētoġ.

Sugar candy: ping-t'ang (Chin.).

Apple: hai-t'ang (Chin.).

Nuts: ho-t'ao (Chin.).

Dates: sa-tsao-êrh (Chin.).

Dry curds: tsūra (Tib., Tuj.).

Oil sticks: san-tzu (Chin.).

Filled loaves: taġur.

Oil pies: yu-pao-tzu (Chin.).

192 796 Speech hada: sidār (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Red cloth (which one presents to the lama): sändzoñ (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Grain with money: mbō.

Loin of mutton (also the entire sheep): ndžuān.

[778] Torma: šdorma (Tib. loanword) (2) [see Note 2 above].

Little copper bowl with water, grain, etc.: doñsär (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Butter-lamp: lamar (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

[778] Holy water-can: wumbā (Tib. loanword).

Peacock's feather: k'un-ch'üo-mao (Chin.).

Thunderbolt: dordzi (Tib., Tuj.).

[41]

[534] Hourglass drum: ndarë.

Mani-string: mani.

[65 cont.]

782 [624] concerns, and there are private sacrifices which the individual gives for his family.

The communal sacrifice is usually given in summer after the erection of the pole-goat for a good harvest. A private sacrifice is undertaken at any time of year according to time and circumstances, for instance, in case of an illness or before an important undertaking. Since one man alone cannot carry out everything for a sacrifice, he invites several other men to it, who help him and afterwards consume the sacrificial meat. The person who makes the offering must also pay the cost.

[231] [791] [252] The sacrificial rite does not differ from that of the other sheep sacrifice. Thus, the sheep is washed, has milk poured over it, is fumigated, etc. Usually a soothsayer is present. After the sacrificial meat has been boiled, several bowls of broth are scooped out. The offering-casts are made with it in the directions indicated by the soothsayer. These are always the same. Three bowls are thrown towards the north for heaven, three bowls each to the east, south, west, and north for the countless spirits, three bowls to the left of the incense offering for the mountain-spirit in the obo, three bowls to the right of the incense offering for the earth-spirit. Then follow three more bowls on the obo, and finally three additional bowls are poured before the spirit-spear. Then follows the offering meal, [574] at which all the meat is consumed.

Before the sheep offering the general obo-veneration is first undertaken, as at the month offering.

[792] [791] [624] The obo prayer: Frequently a lama or Bon priest is invited to pray before the obo. This may last one to seven days, depending upon the request. Here, too, either the entire village or an individual person is the petitioner. Everyone pays personally for the expenses arising from it.

The prayer service begins with an incense offering of the people. Meanwhile the lama makes a šdorma. Then the people place the following offerings before the obo: three baked loaves, 13 steamed loaves, a bowl [66] of barley wine, flowers in vases, small bowls with honey, a cup of tea, black and white sugar, a bowl of tsamba with butter-disks.

3: Schröder--155 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

192 776 [623 cont.]
The three world-spirits: dier xsẽm sañrẽdzi (6) (Tib. manner of speaking).

6. [Foreign text p. 625.] dier xsẽm sañrẽdzi: xsẽm = Tib. gsum = three; sañrẽdzi = Tib. sañs -rgyas = widespread splendor = Buddhistic title for incarnation. -- dier cannot be identified; it must be Tibetan, however, and mean the same as "region, world." I would like to connect it with the three worlds of the Bon; cf. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], p. 139; Francke, Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 5 ff. -- This tripartition is also familiar to the Chinese; one has only to think of the Taoistic san-ching or the Buddhistic san-chieh.

192 777 The five blessings of good fortune: wu-fu (Chin.).

[Pages 623-625 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[625] 3. The New Year's Festival*

527

* See "Notes," pp. 628-629 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[171] [574] The New Year is celebrated by the Tujen at the same time as by the Chinese. In the first days they rest from all work,

[625 cont.]

527 dance and sing, and visit one another. Only after the first full
574 moon on the fifteenth day does ordinary life begin again.
Many days in advance, meat, cakes, etc. are prepared.
782 During the night from the last day of the old year to the first
988 day of the new year no one goes to bed. In the morning an offering is first made to the gods, the family elders are venerated, joy is welcomed (3), and the obo is venerated. In the afternoon

113 3. [Foreign text p. 628.] Concerning the types of bread, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Ying-hsi," Anthropos, 41-44, 1946-1949, p. 186, Note 3; the entire ceremony of the welcoming of joy is described in the same article.

relatives and acquaintances of the village visit one another.
628 From the second day on the people make New Year's visits outside the village, renew the animal consecration (6),

6. [Foreign text p. 629.] Cf. section, "The Animal Consecration."

533 gather in the yard or on the threshing floor, sing legends and songs, and dance. It is a gay time.

[626] Details

Preparation: As much as a week in advance pigs or sheep
262 are slaughtered, noodles are cut for provisions, the most varied kinds of oil-cakes are baked, especially the tagur bread and filled pastries (3) [see Note 3 above]. It is important to have
273 a large quantity of barley wine, since a considerable amount is drunk everywhere on New Year's Day. The day before, the
356 house and yard are swept, lanterns and lamps are made (1), and

[627 cont.]

527 782 Obo veneration: At the same time or still in the early hours of the morning some family representatives go outside to venerate the obo. On this occasion, after the stone throwing, the air-horses, which are printed on yellow paper, are released. They flutter and whirl about in the wind as a sign of good fortune for the family (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 628.]
Cf. section, "The Mani-tree,"
Note 7.

527 •574 Gratulation visits: At midday the villagers visit one another. One takes five to six loaves of bread, sticks of incense, yellow paper, and a little jug of barley wine and goes to the family with which one is friendly. There the guest places the bread before the household altar, lights the little sticks, burns the paper, and pours a few drops of wine on the floor. After that he kowtows before the altar and gratulates the master of the household as well as the individual members of the family. [576] The one of lower standing or the younger one must always kowtow to the one of higher standing on this occasion. Then they sit down on the kang around the fire, drink tea or wine, converse, and sing. Sometimes a round of dancing also follows in the yard.

When women go gratulating, they take no wine, incense, or paper with them, but only bread and tea. They put the bread on the altar, pour some tea on the ground, and then kowtow. They never sit with the men on a kang, however.

It is obligatory that the younger relatives go to the older relatives. In any case on New Year's Day itself one stays in the village. Only from the second day on do the friends and relatives living farther away visit one another.

527 533 Entertainment: During the first 14 days of the new year the people meet every evening at moonrise in the yards. Incense is burned and singers who tell legends are invited. They take turns singing competitively, during which two persons grasp each other by a lappet of the coat. When one of them

3: Schröder--164 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

192 [628 cont.]
527 The welcoming of joy: ying hsi (Chin.).

[Pages 628-629 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[630]

4. The Age-blessing*

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* See "Notes," pp. 634-635 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[792] Old people, men and women, invite the lama to bless and instruct them. This is a great family festival. It is prepared a long time in advance.

On a certain day acquaintances and relatives come and bring the old person presents and gratulate him. They are treated with tea and cake. There is singing and dancing and a [574] feast is held. The young people fetch the hutukhtu. When he arrives, the women of the village dance, and incense is burned in the yard. The hutukhtu blesses the guests at the feast and the old person.

In the afternoon the age-consecration is performed. The hutukhtu makes a number of tormas, which are carried off. Then the old person kneels on the felt mat before the hutukhtu, is blessed with holy water, receives instructions, and is girdled with a yellow sash. He then resembles a lay monk. The mother's [792] brother determines what compensation the hutukhtu is to receive. [465] The next morning the hutukhtu returns to his monastery.

The consecrated person must now observe special com- [785] mandments, must withdraw on the first and fifteenth of the month for meditation, and fast and pray. -- Not all people can afford this celebration, for it is very expensive.

[631 cont.]
527 778 888 [431] [574] [562] husband and the daughter's children must give a hada and money to the person to be consecrated. In return they later receive greater remuneration when they depart.

Feast: The feast takes place in the yard, first for the men, then for the women. Three fields are divided off, right and left for guests, and in the center for the mother's brother with the two closest relatives. These three sit on a felt mat on even ground with their backs to the main door of the main house and have before them a low kang table with the dishes; they are served separately by the master of ceremonies. On the two fields to the right and left, straw is scattered in a square; heavy planks are put in front of it and sometimes also mats, which are to represent the tables. In the middle of each square there burns a fire in which tea and liquor are warmed.

[264] [574] The food is introduced with tsamba and tea, which is taken with butter and milk. Mutton or pork follows; the fatter it is, the better liked and more superior it is. A considerable amount is drunk. Rice follows as the main dish, which is mixed with butter and sugar and sweet roots. -- The women eat after the men. -- During the meal there are always some free, who sing and dance.

527 778 888 792 604 Settling the prayer fee: After the meal, the master of ceremonies pours out liquor for the mother's brother. The sons, daughters, and daughters-in-law kneel down before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies hands him a hada and starts the negotiations over the price. The mother's brother demands expensive gifts and much money for the lama; the master of ceremonies, through his rhetorical skill, must gradually lower the demands, until finally a suitable sum is agreed upon. Then the sons and daughters stand up, kowtow, thank the mother's brother, and go. This is similar to what is done at the pai-ta before the cremation (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 634.] For further details, see chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation." Here, too, the

[647 cont.]

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[769]
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[Note on foreign text pp. 656-657 cont.] certain lucky days, but the Tujen have no special lucky days for the dead. The day of the ch'ing-ming, however, is always an unfailingly lucky day, and therefore one waits until then. On the other hand,

[764]

he claimed that the Tujen formerly never had cemeteries, but buried their dead wherever they wished, although not in a common field; after the introduction of cremation this was all the more unnecessary. -- One can scarcely ignore here the probability of an original double interment.

The period of mourning: The actual period of mourning lasts 49 days. Originally the Tujen had no hundred-days

[777] memorial; nowadays, however, they often imitate the Chinese in this.

During these 49 days after the storage of the bones, the chief mourner must go to the provisional grave daily at sundown

[782] and burn incense there, pour out soup, and kowtow three times. On the forty-ninth day, however, the whole family goes out, makes an offering of tea, bread, and liquor, and burns paper. In former times on this occasion the men burned the hemp hair-string from their queue, and the women the paper parts of their

[178] headdress, which they wore as a sign of mourning. Since nowadays the queue and headdress have disappeared, this ceremony has been lost.

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Starting from the day of death to the forty-ninth day after the bone storage, the members of the family of the dead person may not pay any visits, not even to relatives. If they want to speak to someone, they may not enter the yard, but must ask the people to come out before the yard gate. Even more strongly are they forbidden to visit temples, to appear before the gods' images, to make incense offerings, or to undertake other cult activities. -- During this time spiced

[212 cont.]

782 The slaughtered offering, together with the animal-
[778] consecration, forms the group of animal offerings, of which one is bloody, the other unbloody. The bloody [213] animal-
[574] offering is carried out in three steps which are clearly differentiated by the people: slaughtering, presentation, sacrificial meal. The classic example is described above as the mountain sheep-offering. The actual presentation, usually in the form of the offering-throw, is designated by the term "offering." Often there is an interval of a whole day between slaughtering and presentation and the meal.

[787] The slaughtering is preceded by the washing and the
[778] milk-oracle, as well as the releasing and recapturing of the animal. It almost has the appearance of an abbreviated animal-consecration, at which the animal is likewise released.

The presentation may be done in two ways. Either the skinned whole animal is set up before the deity, or it is cut up immediately, boiled, and then the pieces of meat with the broth are thrown to the deity. It also happens that the thoroughly cooked pieces are put on plates in front of the altar, like bread or wine. Putting up the pole-goat is probably a remnant of
[171] Central Asiatic form, analogous to the hanging up of the hide of sacrificial animals among the Siberian peoples. Among the Tujen, however, no attention whatever is paid to the skeleton, since, of course, the animal is cut up and boiled with the bones.

782 The sacrificial meal is consumed by all the people, by
574 men, women, and children. I do not know of any sacrificial animals that are reserved for only certain groups. To be sure certain parts are reserved for certain persons as especially tasty, such as the loins, the head, etc. The sacrificial meal is not regarded as a profane act. It is regarded as part of the offering, there is the unequivocal expression for it: "This is a part of our offering."

782 A peculiarity of these offerings is still to be emphasized:
826 the fear of blood. The blood is not spilled but caught during the slaughtering and poured into the intestines. The blood belongs to the animal and is sacrificed and eaten with it. Traces of blood on the ground are immediately covered with earth and wiped away.

[257 cont.]

792 went there. Pander speaks (op. cit., p. 204) of Man-tzu or Chinese from Sining, who were accommodated in 13 temples in Peking (1889). These Man-tzu (= barbarians), however, could only have been Tujen, for the Chinese are not Lamaists, and the Tibetans (Fan-tzu) are specifically named by Pander. The monastery Sung-chu-szu is regarded expressly as a Tujen lamasery. Even today (at least up until 1948) almost all its monks come from the Sining region and are Tujen, as the monks from this monastery related during a visit home. To be sure the number has shrunk greatly.

771 792 [788] [527] [796] [778] These are all facts that must be taken into account in judging the Lamaism of the Tujen. The people are proud of their famous monastery. It is their pilgrimage center. Young and old gather there at the festivals. They hold horse races and sing their old popular airs there. At the temple festivals with the magnificent dances the Lamist doctrine is deepened and clarified. In the venerable halls filled with incense they see their gods in magnificent statues, painted on silk, on walls and altars. There lie also the heavy sacred books of the Kandjur and Tandjur, which they bear on their backs around the sanctuary in order to free themselves from affliction or to fulfill a vow. In the temples and yards they watch the monks hold learned disputations, read the scriptures, recite the prayers. They invite them to undertake solemn religious services in their compounds, to give their children their names, to consecrate the old, [258] to bless the young, to pray for the dead, to cremate the corpses. The lama is a frequent and welcome guest in the family. Generally, the people seem to link themselves to the monastic life at the important stages of life. Even the shaman receives his consecration in the monastery. Every family was proud if one of its sons became a lama; indeed, it was even an unwritten law.

[574] [752] [778]

771 792 177 So it was, at least until the most recent times. Today, however, the young people no longer want to know anything about becoming a lama. They prefer to attend the Chinese schools and are intent on the new education. They despise the old and do not take it seriously anymore. What the

The procurator in turn has an assistant (htie wa, in Tibetan and erh kuan chia, in Chinese), who helps him at the job. He is appointed or dismissed by the Living Buddha at the same time as his superior. The servants under the procurators vary in numbers according to the importance of the monastery. At Erh-ku-lung there are thirty lama servants and ten lay servants. 792

Two lay intendants are also appointed by the Living Buddha. It is customary, after three years, that they present their resignation, which is accepted or refused. Their duties are more honorary than executive. When the Living Buddha goes on a journey they accompany him as masters of his retinue. Under the empire a blue button adorned the top of their hats. They take care of the impedimenta. Arriving at a destination at night, they take care of all necessities at the inn, and then take the visiting card of the Buddha to the Chinese official of the village or the city. The intendant sends them to the city to bring gifts or to greet the officials when he is unable to do it himself, and he delegates them to mediate in the villages. [57H]

When the personal wealth of the supreme chief is great enough, he appoints a private intendant and procurator to administer it.

The minor Living Buddhas who are guests, living at the monastery, have their own administration. It is more or less personal, according to their wealth (subsidiaries, villages, herds), and according to their own propensity for caring for their business. Their intendants do not enjoy such influence as the intendants of the important monasteries.

The material side of the administration of the communities of the lamas and of the colleges is identical, consisting of an intendant and procurator chosen by them but approved by the supreme chief. Their intendants are important personages who care for the wealth of the community or the college, investment of capital, revenues of villages, sale or purchase of land, herds, relations with the Chinese administration, suits at the court of justice, judgment of the suits of subjects, care of the subsidiaries and gifts. These procurators provide the food used at the meetings, and supervise the upkeep of the buildings and temples of the community of lamas and the colleges, and of the palaces of their Fa-t'ai's. They manage the expeditions to Mongolia and Kukunor for the collection of alms, distribute the share of alms offered to the lamas of the community or to the colleges, and the collection of the revenues of lands. They are appointed by the supreme chief on the joint recommendation of his own intendant and the board of the community or the college. The intendant of a community of lamas or of a college is therefore always the protégé of the superintendent, although the administration of the community and of the colleges is at the same time institutionally autonomous.

These notes give an insight on the personnel used for the material administration of the Monguor monasteries

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Seerting group, but also among some families living in the Hung-nai and Ha-la-chih Valleys. It is said that long ago an old lama of Sung-chan-i (P'ing-fan hsien) introduced the cult of this spirit in the country. It has only one eye in front, and its image is honored not in the living room but behind the entrance gate of the courtyard. Many Monguors do not like to marry their daughters into families where this spirit is honored, and those who honor it are afraid to get rid of its cult, for fear of calamities. The spirit notices all visitors and watches to see whether some evil intent is not lurking behind the visit. It is said that when an undesired guest lingers waiting for dinner, Sturlong causes him tremendous intestinal troubles so that he has to run away. At the time when the dowry for a girl of the family is discussed, and the head of the family suggests that the part required by the lord of the family is not yet fixed, the go-betweens understand the hint and promise a goat for Sturlong. On the wedding day, a few moments before the bride will leave, a goat is set before Sturlong who avidly devours its prey and does not notice the bride leaving. At the time an animal is to be sold, its price is discussed not at the home of the proprietor but outside the courtyard, in order to avoid Sturlong knowing about it.

Still another spirit is honored, which steals in behalf of the families that honor it. Its cult is practiced especially in the Hung nai Valley. The Chinese call it *Mao-kui-shen* "cat spirit." It is a male spirit for which young women prepare a blanket at night, and which they "serve." On the tenth moon it steals grain and brings it to the granaries of its devotees. If guests arrive unexpectedly at noon and the food prepared is not sufficient, it is so potent that it can add food enough for all the guests by unknown means. When thieves come at night, it spirits away the things they intend to steal. However, it cannot steal Chinese coins, because Chinese characters are stamped on them; it cannot steal cloth in behalf of its devotees, because on both ends of a piece of cloth are printed the brands of the fabric. It cannot take things out of a closet which is tightly closed, but when the door is open it takes what it needs. It likes to drink liquor. A young woman poured liquor for it, one cup after another, until the cup remained full. In the blanket she found a drunken cat, which her husband killed. These tales resemble those recounted by the Mongols, concerning the well-known fox-spirit.[12]

[12] Here should be noted the very interesting study of F. A. Oberle, S.V.D., dealing with a similar frame of mind, with practices, some similar and some differing, encountered among the Tibetans of the region of Kui-te, 200 *li* south of Hsining on the right bank of the Yellow River, and among a group of Tibetans living 60 *li* west of Hsining called Chia-hsi-fan by the Chinese, i.e., Tibetans living in houses in contrast to the Tibetans living in tents. However, I never heard the Monguors explaining the rites performed against the avenger of the family wealth, suggesting the avenger having the appearance of a "Hundekopfdamon," an evil spirit with a dog head. See

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N *563 M 144 174 sider the Mongours an offshoot of the Mongols; others believe they are of Sha-t'o Turkish stock, and that they came to the Hsining region during the T'ang Dynasty (618-906), but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 648 175 311 The Chinese refer to the Mongours as T'u-jen, or natives, meaning the people born in a certain place, or the original inhabitants of that place. After the Mongours submitted to the rule of the Ming Dynasty, their chiefs, according to Chinese historical record, became Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the fields around the towns in Kansu were irrigated by canals assigned to Chinese military colonists, and the grasslands in the valleys were assigned to the various T'u-ssu for the pasturing of their herds and the cultivation of grains without irrigation. As the Mongours were relegated to the side valleys, they were forced to abandon the more fertile irrigated fields, and for that reason part of them fell back on the pastoral economy which they had not yet entirely abandoned. The present day Mongours may be pastoral or agricultural, depending upon where they are located.

N *563 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

M 342 The people were originally nomads who lived in circular felt tents like those of the Mongols. After they settled in Kansu, they lived in houses of the Chinese pattern, built by frontier Chinese.

M [351] The house is surrounded by walls, forming a square, facing south, with a small gate at the southwest corner. The house has mud walls, thatched roof, wooden rafters and beams. Stables and kitchen, separate from the dwelling quarters, are scattered M [343] at the other three corners. Mangers for the cattle are outside the buildings, under the windows. There are rooms along the side wall where the younger sons of the family dwell, or where grain, wood, saddles and farm implements are stored. The M [231] Mongours like the reassuring nearness of their animals, and at night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals such as mules, donkeys and horses.

M [592] [574] The head of the family and his wife live in the northern building against the back wall of the enclosure. In the center of the house is a room used for the reception of guests and for the family dining room. The chief and his wife have one or two small rooms beside the living room, and the eldest son occupies the opposite room. In each room there is a brick k'ang, a sort M [354] of fireplace with its opening on the outside. The k'ang takes up [352] most of the room, and there is little furniture except some wooden chests where clothing and food are stored.

N *563 M 342 591 592 The youngest married son and his family live in the northwest corner of the courtyard near the kitchen. This is considered the "blessed corner," where many offspring may be expected. Tra-

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N *563 M 576 [264] [603] [554] [561]

of the k'ang. In the presence of the grandfather, the daughters-in-law may not sit, even on the floor.

The Mongours regard it as an insult to the T'u-ssu to open a conversation or keep one's hat on in his presence. It is considered a mark of respect to remove the hat while visiting with a person of position or rank.

The Mongours use the same term in addressing members of the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Older persons are addressed as "big," younger ones as "little."

M [574]

It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. The same bowl is used for serving both food and tea, and it must always be filled to the brim. One never presents the bowl with one hand, although when pouring tea, one may hold the pot in the right hand.

One is not allowed to step over a person who is lying down.

Father and daughter must always keep some distance apart. A married woman may remove her hat when visiting in her own mother's home, but she must always have her head decorated and wear a long gown or skirt in the presence of her parents-in-law or their guests.

N *563 M 614 796

i. Celebrations and festivals

Feasting and celebration usually follow the rites of ancestor worship. A large tent is pitched on the open ground below the cemetery, and here the T'u-ssu sits among the nobles, elders and other prominent men of the clan to receive pledges of renewed allegiance from his subjects. As a master of ceremonies shouts directions, the chief and elders of each village, garbed in there ceremonial robes, come up in turn to pay homage to their T'u-ssu. Then a dinner is spread for the T'u-ssu and the prominent members of the clan. Some sit in the tent, some outside on felt rugs at small tables. A whole sheep is presented to the T'u-ssu, then divided among all present. Wine is drunk, and the festive spirit mounts. Girls dance and sing; lamas from the monasteries wrestle; youngsters race on unsaddled horses. It is a great day for all, but it seldom ends without quarreling and fighting. Under the rising influence of liquor, clothes are torn, heads banged and bones broken. According to tradition, no damage suits may be brought for loss or injuries incurred on this day.

N *563 M 562 [558] [852] [782] [852]

Boys are preferred to girls in Mongour society. The festival at the birth of the first son and the selection of his name is particularly important. The Mongours consider the lack of a son as punishment for sins of the parents in some previous incarnation. The sonless woman lives a miserable life, as she has no status in the family or in society. A sonless couple will hire lamas to pray for them, and vow to make long pilgrimages or give alms lavishly if only they are granted a son. Thus the birth of the

N *563 M 439 [438] [543] [437]

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tion for her hospitality. Larger scale selling and buying are done at fairs held two or three times a year.

Occasionally an ambitious young Mongour will go into the business of long-distance caravan trade with the Tibetans. He will deal largely in mules and saddle girths woven with white wool, which can be sold readily in Tibet, and bring back wool serge cloth dyed red or purple, or white with red or blue stripes. A heavy fabric, it sheds water, and is highly valued by the Mongours. He will also bring back Tibetan incense, dates and so forth to sell to the Chinese.

N *563 M 461

6. Work and leisure

The traditional life of pastoral nomads is rather free and lazy except at the times of seasonal migration. Descendants of nomads, the Mongours still prefer to enjoy long periods of comparative idleness alternating with short periods of intense activity. In their agricultural economy, however, the Mongour men are unable to be quite so indolent as pastoral nomads.

N *563 M 462

In the farming communities, both men and women work in the fields. The men do the heavy preparatory work, plowing and harrowing; the women help with sowing and weeding, as well as with reaping the harvest and carrying the grains to the threshing floor. Women do the threshing. Like their Mongol sisters, they do the housework and care for the animals. Married women work under the supervision of the oldest, usually the mother-in-law.

N *563 M 562 M [574] M [437] [533]

Although their status is inferior, the Mongour women accept it without resentment. Their outlook is conditioned by their milieu. They know what is expected of them, and behave accordingly. Though bound by strict rules of etiquette, they are entirely free to associate with men, to sing and dance in public, and to enjoy themselves. They delight in attending the big festivals at the lamaseries and the annual assembly of the clan, where they meet their friends and visit, and also show off their fancy costumes and headdress. They love to shop at the fairs, and bargain over goods. Both men and women love to sing. During the long, tedious hours of weeding the fields, men and women sing in unison.

N *563 101

G. The Tibetans

1. The people

Hsi-fan is a name applied by the Chinese to the Amdo Tibetans, and to all other non-Chinese tribesmen from Sung-p'an to Hsi-ning. It means Western Barbarians. Some European scholars have maintained that the Hsi-fan are not Tibetans, and suggest that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese peoples of southwest China, like the Lolo or Moso.

N *563 199

Granting that there is no such thing as a homogenous Tibetan